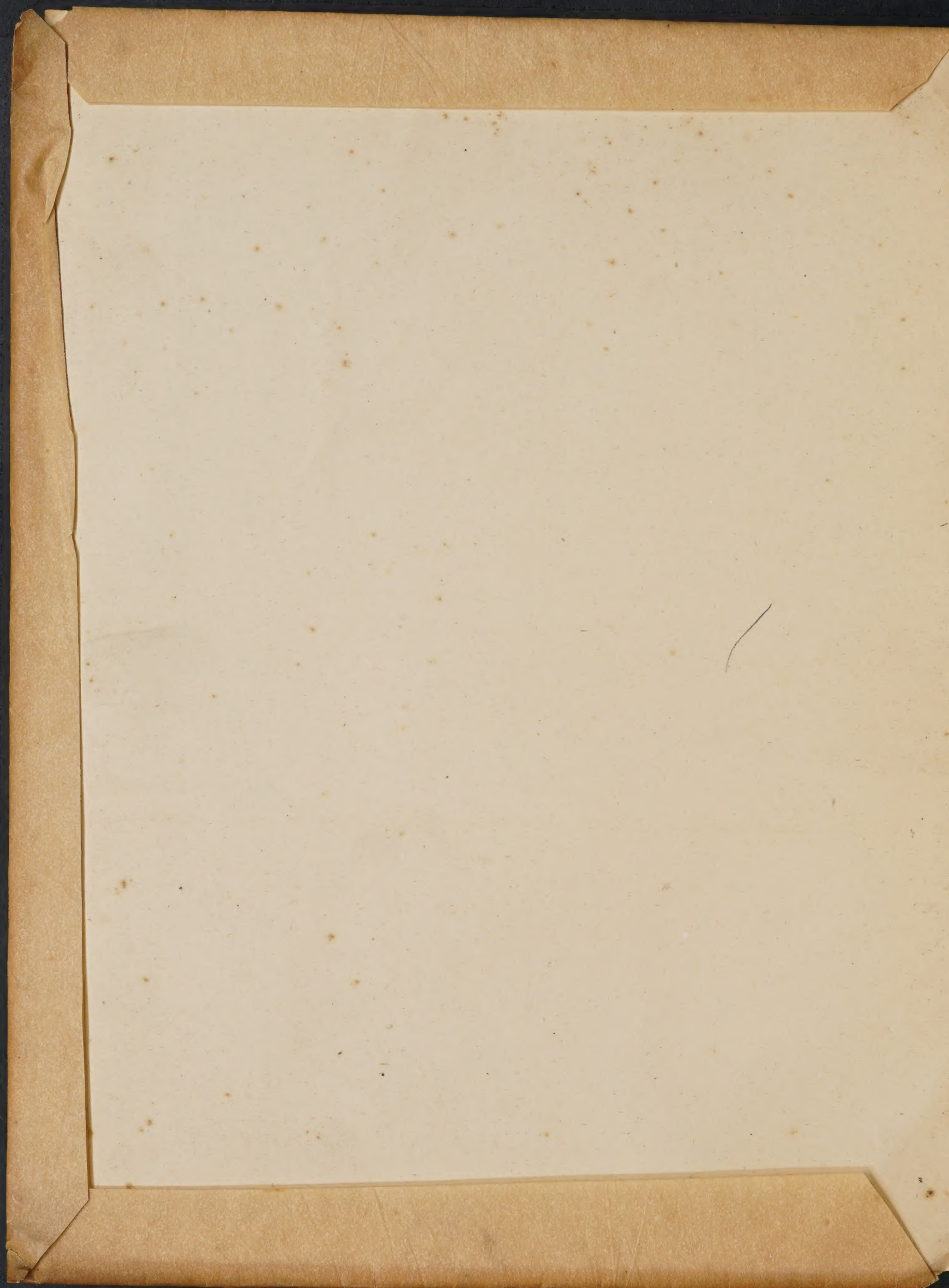


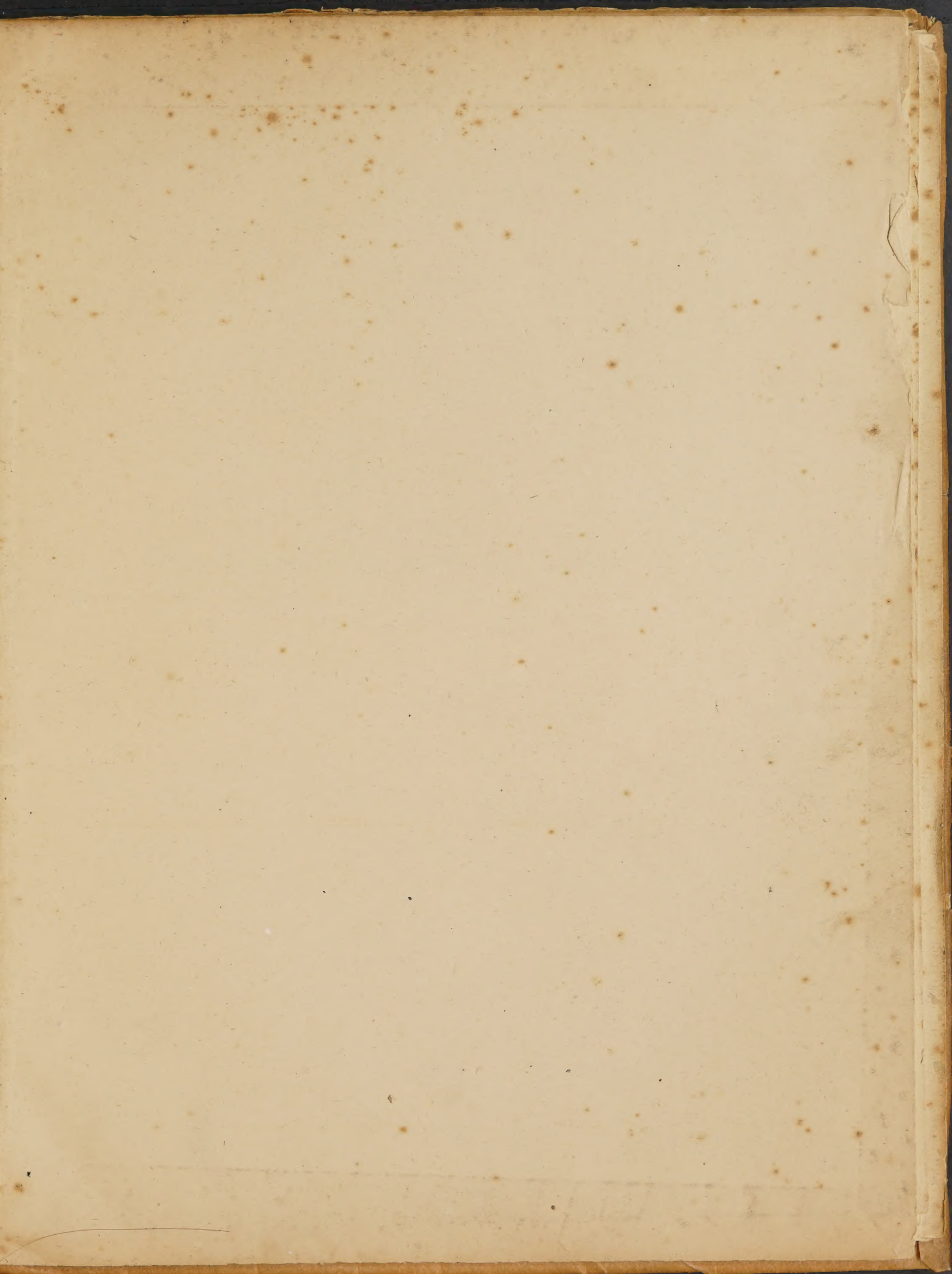


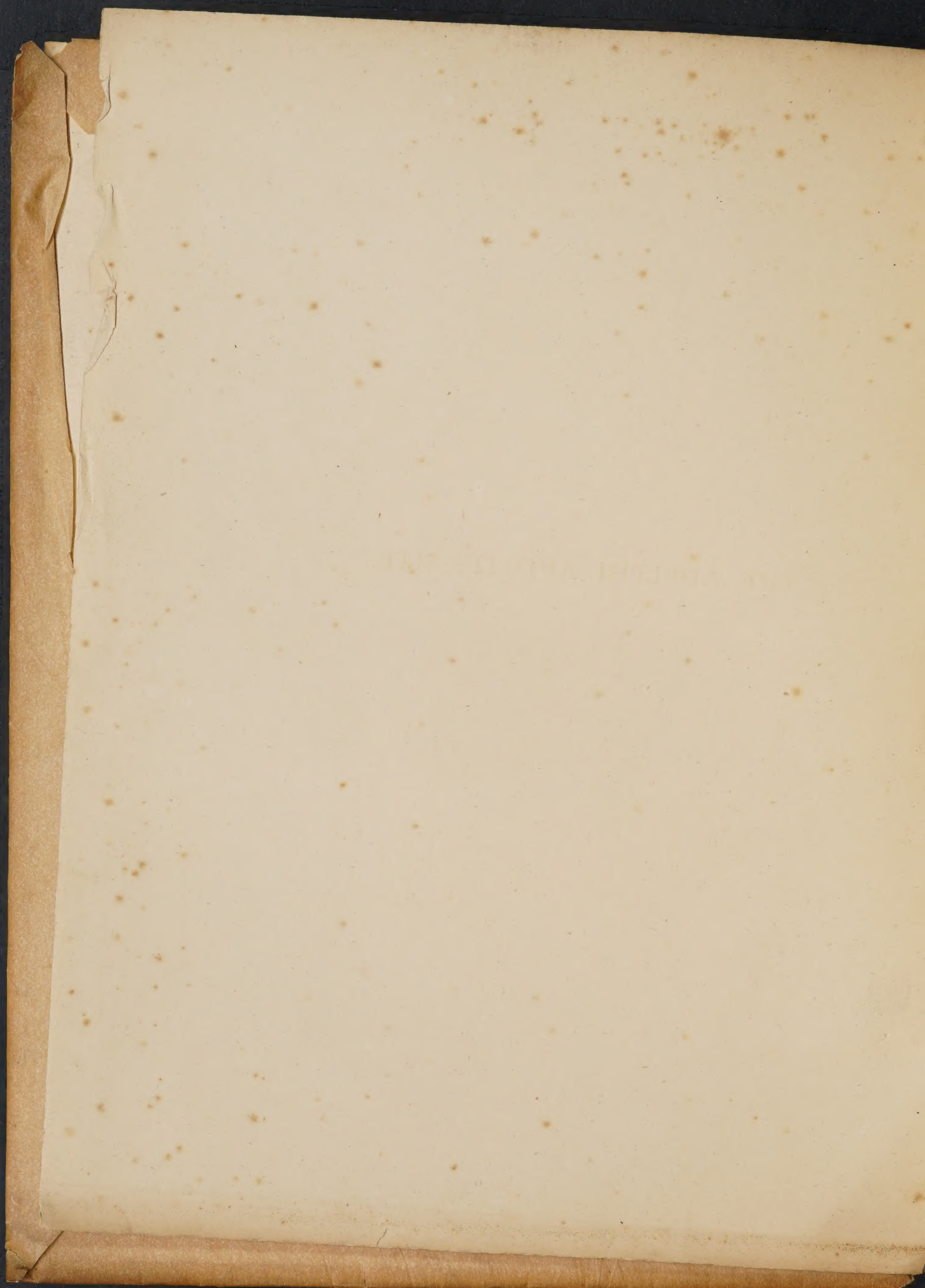
THE
ADELPHI AND ITS SITE

—
HENRY B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A.

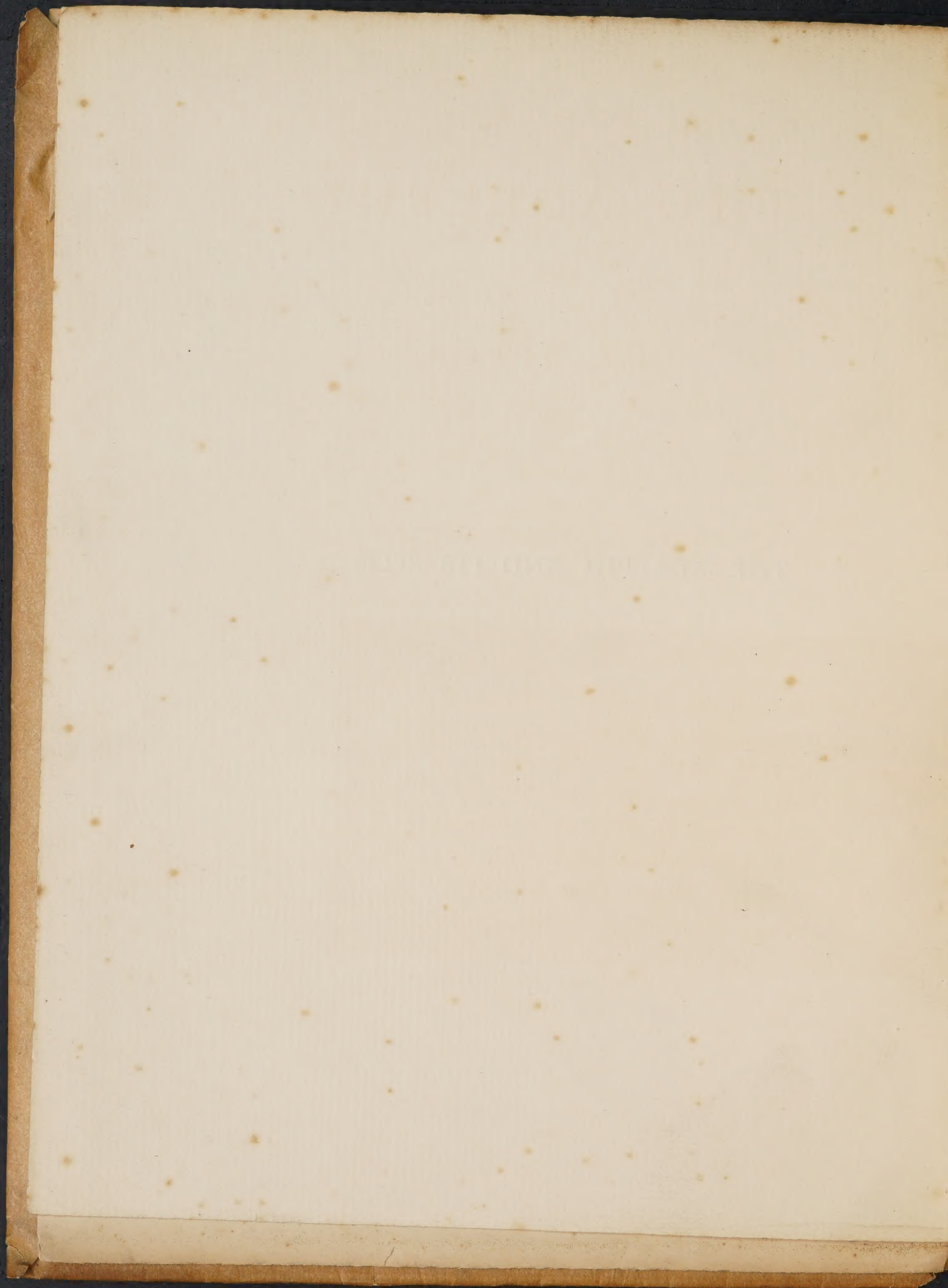








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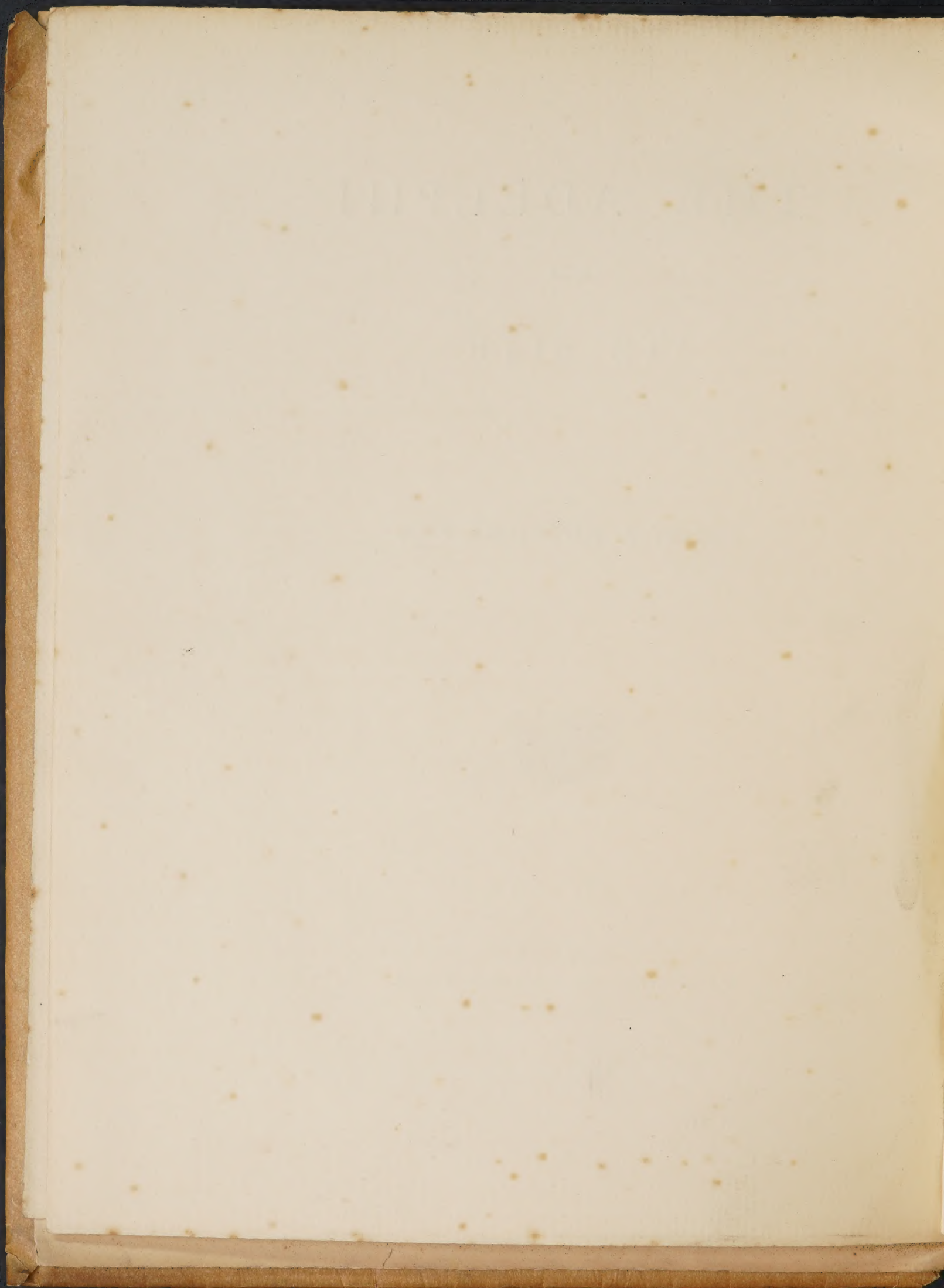
BY

HENRY B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A.

*A few copies of Mr Wheatley's Sketch of
Payne Collier and his Works, including an
account of such Shakespeare Documents as
are believed to be spurious, are left, out of
a restricted edition of 350 copies, and can
be obtained at the subscription price of
2/6 each, on application to the publisher
Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, London, E.C.*

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MDCCCLXXXV.



THE ADELPHI AND ITS SITE.

DURHAM HOUSE.

HE Adelphi as we now see it has only a history of about one hundred years, but if we trace back the various associations of the site, we find that we have a history of more than five centuries to deal with.*

Our great London authority Stow tells us that Durham House (which occupied the whole site of the Adelphi) was built by Thomas Hatfield, who was made Bishop of Durham in 1345; but Pennant affirms that he only rebuilt it, and that it was really founded by Anthony de Beck, patriarch of Jerusalem, and Bishop of Durham, in the reign of Edward I. I should prefer to believe Pennant, for this reason: that then we could add the name of Richard Aungervile de Bury, Hatfield's immediate predecessor in the See, to the list of famous residents of Durham House. The distinguished Richard de Bury, beloved by all bookmen as the author of the famous *Philobiblon*, would make up for many dull men, and shed bright rays on the place where he lived. I fear, however, that Pennant's authority is of small value. Hutchinson, however, in his *History of Durham*, makes the same claim for Beck.

Norden says, in his *Description of Middlesex*, that Durham House was built by Antony de Beck, but he seems to have had a very hazy notion of when the said Beck lived, for in his printed edition he makes it Richard III.'s reign, and in the Harleian MS. copy he shifts the reign to Henry III., a difference of more than two centuries.

There is something to be said in favour of

believing that the house was built in the thirteenth century, as may be seen from the following story; but, although the story has frequently been repeated, it is not of any great authority:—It was at Durham House that King Henry III. in 1258 took refuge from a thunder storm, as he was passing down the river in his barge. The house was at that time occupied by the Earl of Leicester, who was head of the Barons opposed to the king; when, however, the Royal barge approached the house, he went out courteously to welcome the king, and endeavoured to dispel his fears, saying, "Your Majesty need not be afraid, for the tempest is nearly over." At these words the king's countenance put on a severe expression, and he exclaimed passionately, "Above measure I dread thunder and lightning, but by the head of God I am more in terror of thee than of all the thunder and lightning in the world."

Certainly we find that the Friars of the Order of St. Mary de Areno established a house in the reign of Henry III., which is described as not far from the site of Durham House.

Before confining ourselves to the exact site, it may be useful to note what was the general appearance at this early period of the road in which Durham House was placed, and we must begin at Temple Bar. First of all it is necessary to divest ourselves entirely of the idea of the Strand as a street of houses. The palaces now to be catalogued were not so much built in the Strand as on the Thames. Fleet Street at this time and for long afterwards was described as in the suburbs. It was outside of the business of the city, and became the place for sights and shows. The Strand was of course originally

* The substance of this article was read as a paper before the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, in the rooms of the Society of Arts, on Monday, April 17th, 1882.

washed by the waves of the river, and in the thirteenth century, although houses had been built there, the road itself which connected London with Westminster was a neglected track. The river was then the highway, and the residents had their barges. When the order of Knights Templars was suppressed in 1313, Edward II. gave their house to Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, at whose death the property came into the possession of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. The Inner and Middle Temples were then leased to the students of the Common Law, and the Outer Temple, or that part which was outside Temple Bar, to Walter Stapleton, Bishop of Exeter and Lord Treasurer, who was beheaded by the citizens in 1326. This latter portion became known as Exeter Inn, and the term Outer Temple was forgotten, by which means the names of the other two Temples lost their significance.* Subsequently Lord Paget obtained possession of the house, to be succeeded by Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and Devereux, Earl of Essex, whose name remains in Essex Street. Milford Lane marked the confines of the Temple, and it has been suggested that the overflowings of St. Clement's Well ran down here and worked a water mill at the bottom on the Thames bank.

Then came the inn of the Bishop of Bath, which was afterwards Arundel House. Strand Lane divided Bath inn from the Bishop of Chester's inn (previously the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry's); then came the Bishop of Worcester's house. These two houses went to form Somerset House.

The Savoy was built in 1245 by Peter, Earl of Savoy and Richmond, uncle to Edward III.'s Queen, Eleanor, and was the only exception to the rule that these Strand palaces were built by bishops. Next to the Savoy, which was very extensive, stood the palace of the Bishop of Carlisle, afterwards Worcester House, the residence of the Marquis of Worcester, whose son was created Duke of Beaufort, and Beaufort Buildings now marks the site. The gardens of Carlisle House extended to Ivy Bridge, and on the western portion of the site Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, built Salisbury House. Ivy Lane was the

* The name has now been revived for the handsome new building lately erected opposite the Law Courts.

eastern boundary of Durham House, and marks the limit of St. Martin's parish. From Ivy Bridge to near Temple Bar was in the liberty of the Duchy of Lancaster. On the western side of Durham House was the inn of the Bishop of Norwich, which was obtained by Heath, Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor in Queen Mary's reign, from which time it was called York House. The curious fact that these houses, which must have made the river front of London singularly handsome, were built by bishops is usually accounted for on the supposition that it was only churchmen who dared in those unruly times to live so far from the city walls. I think, however, there may have been another reason. These bishops came to town to attend the court, and many of them were high officials, whose duties would as often take them to Westminster as to the City, and a position therefore midway between the two places would be particularly convenient. Moreover, the Bishop of London was chief in his own city, and the other prelates would probably be glad to be in a more independent position than would have been the case within the walls.

We can now return to Bishop Hatfield, the supposed founder of Durham House. Besides holding the important and princely see of Durham, he occupied the post of principal secretary of state to Edward III. and Richard II., so that we may well imagine how much business of importance was transacted here. Hatfield was succeeded by many doubtless worthy men, but the names of most of them are not renowned, and they do not confer any particular distinction upon the house they inhabited. In 1406, however, Thomas Langley, a lord chancellor, and moreover a cardinal, was made bishop, and during his residence an event of interest occurred. We learn from an old Chronicle of London that on a certain day in the year 1411, Prince Harry (afterwards Henry V.) came to town and lodged at the bishop's inn for a few days.* We do not know what he did there, or whether Falstaff and his crew came with him and scandalized the churchman with their wild doings, but it is something to associate so famous a prince with this locality. Again history is silent for upwards of a century, and

* *Chronicle of London*, ed. Nicholas, p. 94.

we pass over the years that separate the bishopric of Langley from that of Tunstall. Henry VIII. induced, or rather ordered, Tunstall to give up Durham House in exchange for some other property in London, as Coldharbour, etc. It then became for some years dissociated from the see of Durham, and was considered as a royal house.* In 1540 there were grand doings here. A magnificent tournament was opened on May day in the tilt yard of St. James's Park, and continued for six days. The jousts had been formally proclaimed in France, Flanders, Scotland, and Spain for all comers who would undertake the challengers of England. After the occupation of each day the challengers rode to Durham

Place and kept open house there. On May day they entertained Henry and Anne of Cleves and all the court, and on subsequent days they feasted other great persons. Stow gives a long account of these jousts, and he wasevidently

of opinion that these feastings were the most interesting incidents he could tell of Durham House. I will just quote the last portion of the worthy topographer's description:—

In this time of their housekeeping they had not only feasted the king, queen, ladies, and all the court as is afore shewed; but, also, they cheered all the knights and burgesses of the common house in parliament, and entertained the mayor of London with the aldermen and their wives at a dinner, etc. The king gave to every of the said challengers and their heirs for ever, in reward of their valiant activity, one hundred marks and a house to dwell in, of yearly revenue, out of the lands pertaining to the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem.

* A MS. in the Guildhall Library (No. 231) contains some notices of the house during the reign of Henry VIII., and references to "stufte delyvered oute at Durham Place," furniture transferred from York Place to Durham Place, etc.

The view annexed (fig. 1) is taken from the long plan of A. van Wyngaerde. This is copied from the original drawing in the Bodleian Library. Certain names have been added in a later hand, and Durham House is incorrectly written over Burghley or Exeter House. Durham House is on the river-side to the east of Charing Cross.

The various occupiers of Durham Place were constantly changed. I find by the *Calendars of State Papers* that in 1547 Sir Francis Knollys was here; but in 1550 the French Ambassador Chastillon had taken his place, and the house was then "furnished with hangings of the king's for the nonce." It is said that Edward VI., in the second year

of his reign, granted Durham Place to his sister Elizabeth for life, but I have not come upon any record of her having lived here. This would be in 1548, so that it is just possible she was a resident between the occupations of Knollys

and Chastillon. But again my dates are somewhat confused, for I find that the Lord Admiral Thomas Seymour established a mint here under the management of Sir William Sharrington, and he was beheaded in 1548. Altogether Durham House seems to have had more than its fair share of residents during the short reign of Edward VI. Of this, however, there can be no doubt, that at the death of the king, Dudley, Earl of Northumberland, was living here. In May 1553 three marriages were solemnized with great magnificence in Durham House. These were Lord Guildford Dudley, the earl's son, to Lady Jane Grey; Lord Herbert to Catherine, youngest sister of Lady Jane; and Lord Hastings to the earl's youngest daughter,

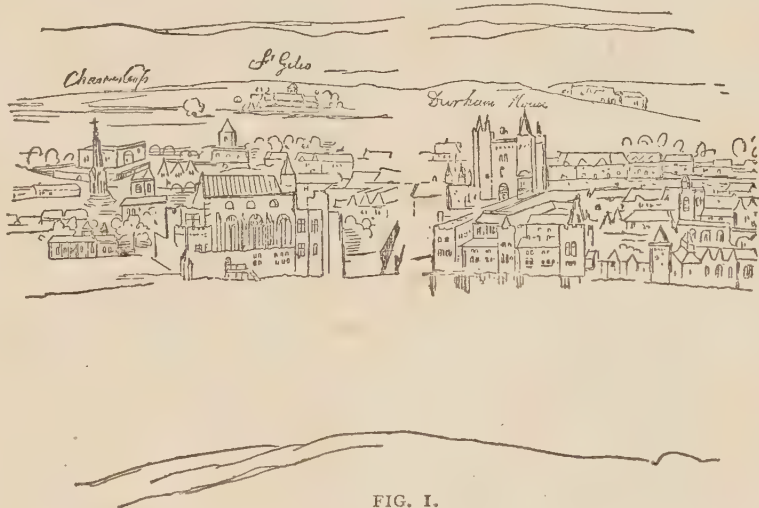


FIG. 1.
VIEW OF DURHAM HOUSE AND ITS SURROUNDINGS FROM THE RIVER.

Lady Catherine Dudley. This association with the interesting Lady Jane Grey is a glorious one for our house. From here she reluctantly took boat for the Tower to be made queen, and from here again a few months afterwards she was hurried off to the same place to lose her life upon the scaffold.

When Mary came to the throne she gave the bishopric of Durham back to Tunstal, who had been deprived by Edward VI. in the year before. He did not, however, get his palace at once. Among the State papers is a letter from the bishop to Cardinal Pole, dated August 16th, 1558, in which he thanks for the reversion of Durham Place, which had been granted to him.* When Elizabeth came to the throne, Tunstal was again deprived and driven from this house. In December 1572, Walter Devereux, first Earl of Essex, was here; and about 1583 Elizabeth granted the house to its greatest tenant, the glorious Raleigh. He was then but thirty-one years of age, and had not long before attracted the attention of the queen.

Here he lived in state for about twenty years, and even if the house were given to him he must have spent a large income in keeping it up. As Lord Warden of the Stannaries, cases were brought before him, and we have note of one of these (*Glanville v. Courtney*) which was heard at divers stages at Durham House, in 1591; Egerton on one occasion being counsel. In 1600 the house was nearly burnt while Raleigh was away in Jersey, of which island he had just been appointed governor. Norden tells us that Durham House was very pleasantly situated on the Thames, and that the hall was stately and high, and supported by marble pillars.

* *Cal. State Papers*, 1547-80, p. 105.

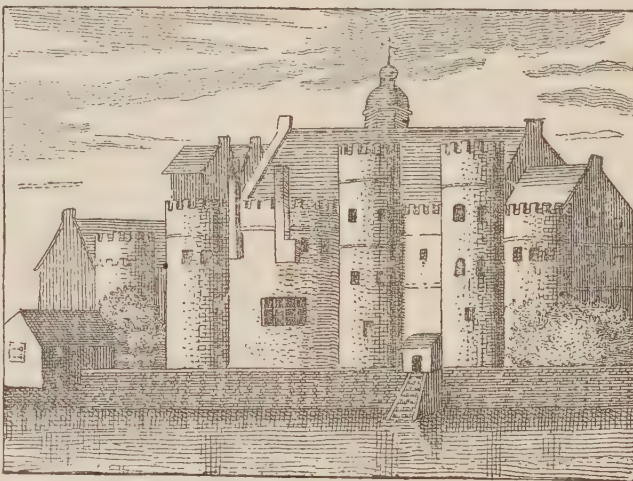
Aubrey gives us another view of the house. He says:—

I well remember his study, which was on a little turret that looked into and over the Thames, and had the prospect which is as pleasant as any in the world.

Everything has changed, not a stone remains to remind us of Durham House; but the Thames still flows on, and we now look from the Adelphi Terrace upon what Raleigh looked upon three centuries ago from that little tower.

In 1603, when Elizabeth died, Raleigh was left without a friend. His next door neighbour, the subtle Cecil, had the opportunity to injure him, and availed himself of that

opportunity eagerly. No time was lost, and on the 31st of May an order for his ejectment from the house, upon which he had spent £2,000, was signed by James. Lord Salisbury did not appear in the business, but he set up Toby Matthew, Bishop of Durham, as the claimant. Raleigh objected to being turned out in a hurry, and in a letter, written in



Durham House 1660

FIG. 2.

June 1603, he refers to his retinue of forty persons and his twenty horses. He writes:

I am of opinion that if the King's Majestye had recovered this howse or the like from the meanest gentelman and servant hee had in Inglande, that his Maiestye would have geven six moneths tyme for the avoydance, and I do not know butt that the poorest artificer in London hath a quarter's warninge given hym by his land lord.

The Lord Keeper to whom the letters* were addressed in this affair was the same Egerton whom we have already noted as a counsel before Raleigh in Durham House. When our hero was tried in November, he was charged with having concocted his treason with Lord Cobham in Durham House.

* *Egerton Papers* (Camden Society), p. 380.

I linger over this period of Raleigh's occupancy, for his was the greatest name I have to register. This grand Elizabethan fairly fascinates us by the greatness of his genius, the splendour of his gallantry, and the vastness of his learning, and association with him is a high distinction for any place. The late Mr. Dante Rossetti's beautiful sonnet* refers to that cell in the Tower, where the noble spirit was so long cribbed and cabined, but I think it not altogether out of place to quote it with reference to the spot where he lived in the years of his prosperity, and laid the foundations of the knowledge he after-

THE STRAND FRONT.

With the ejection of Raleigh the first act in the history of Durham House closes. After this the place was divided, and can no longer be considered as a whole. When Lord Salisbury helped the Bishop of Durham to obtain back Durham House for the use of the see, he took care to reserve some portion for his own use. When Durham House was originally built, the Strand was little better than a back lane, and stables and outhouses were made to front it. These stables were seen from Salisbury House, and the earl found

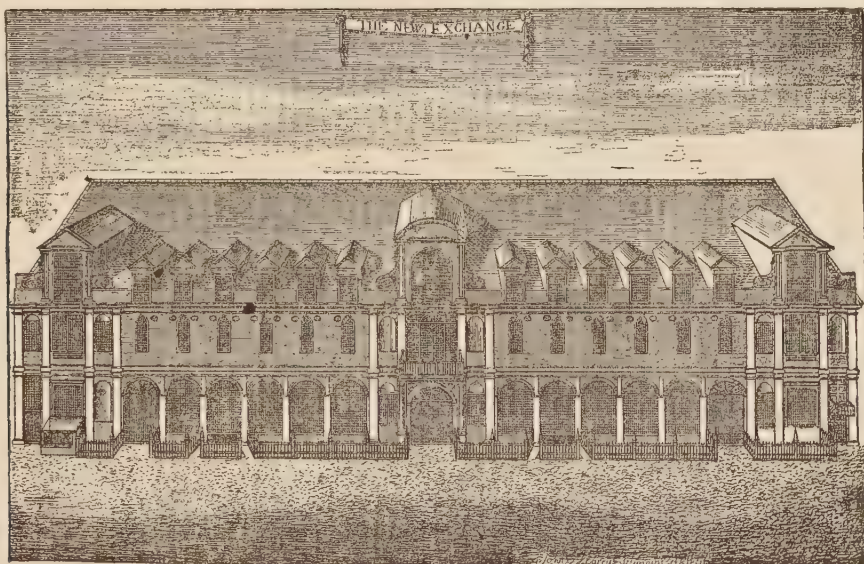


FIG. 3.—FRONT OF THE NEW EXCHANGE.

wards poured out for the instruction of subsequent ages :

Here writ was the World's History by his hand,
Whose steps knew all the earth ; albeit his world
In these few piteous paces then was furled.
Here daily, hourly, have his proud feet spanned
This smaller speck than the receding land
Had ever shown his ships ; what time he hurled
Abroad o'er new-found regions spiced and pearled,
His country's high dominion and command.

Here dwelt two spheres. The vast terrestrial zone
His spirit traversed ; and that spirit was
Itself the zone celestial, round whose birth
The planets played within the zodiac's girth ;
Till hence, through unjust death, unfeared, did pass
His spirit to the only land unknown.

* Printed for the first time in Mr. Caine's *Sonnets of Three Centuries*.

them an eyesore. He therefore raised a building to front the Strand, which was growing into an important thoroughfare. This he intended as a west-end exchange, and his intention frightened the citizens, who thought their trade might be taken from them. On June 10th, 1608, the first stone was laid, and on the 30th of the same month the Lord Mayor wrote to the Lord Treasurer and enclosed

A Petition from the shop-keepers of the Exchange concerning a building in course of erection at Durham House in the Strand, which they considered was meant to be employed as a Pawne or Exchange, for the sale of things usually uttered in the Royal Exchange, and which being situated near to Whitehall and in the highway, would be injurious not only to the shop-

keepers and to the citizens at large, but tend to the destruction of trade.

Although the petitioners beseeched his lordship to consider the consequences to the City, he paid little attention to the request, and continued building. On the 20th July Lord Salisbury wrote an answer to the Lord Mayor and aldermen, and explained his reasons for carrying out the scheme.

On April 11th, 1609, James I. opened the New Exchange in presence of the Queen, Prince Charles, and the Princess Elizabeth. We have here a good instance of the difficulty of introducing a name which is not in harmony with the spirit of the language. When Sir Thomas Gresham built his Exchange in imitation of the Bourse at Antwerp, he called it The Burse, but when Queen Elizabeth opened the building she caused a herald to proclaim it "The Royal Exchange," so to be called from thenceforth and not otherwise. When James opened the New Exchange he called it Britain's Burse, but it continued to be called the New Exchange. We thus see that the English people would have nothing to do with the foreign word Burse. The fears of the citizens proved groundless, and the Royal Exchange suffered no injury, but after the great fire the New Exchange took its place, and we find the dramatists of the Restoration full of allusions to this favourite resort. In one of Donne's elegies there is an allusion to the relative positions of the two exchanges. He writes:—

I asked
Whether the Britain Burse did fill apace,
And likely were to give the Exchange disgrace.

We will now return to the consideration of the vicissitudes of Durham House. Whether Bishop Toby Matthew got possession after the eviction of Raleigh I cannot say, but I suspect not. I find a reference among the Earl of Jersey's papers to the fact that the archduke's commissioners were lodged at Durham House on Friday, 10th August, 1604.* Among the Salisbury papers there is a receipt for stone for some building operations stated to be done at Durham House, but probably connected with the New Exchange.†

On February 16th, 1612, Bishop William James, who had succeeded to the see in 1606,

* *Hist. MSS. Comm. Report*, viii., p. 98.

† *Ibid.*, iii., p. 175.

wrote to Lord Salisbury to thank him for his honourable dealings in the purchase of Durham House. About this time considerable changes were made on the site. Some houses were built on the portion of the Strand frontage not occupied by the Exchange, and others apparently not far from the chief house. Thomas Wilson of Hertford granted a lease "to James Bory, Serjeant of the Cellar of the Sill House in the Strand, near Durham House," on December 9th, 1614. This same Wilson (now Sir Thomas) sold, in October 1618, a dwelling-house, garden, etc., described as "between Durham House, Britain's Burse, York House, and the river," to William Roo for £374. This gives us some idea of the arrangement of the site. I imagine Durham House occupied what is now the middle of the south side of John Street. It extended to the river on the south, but there would be plenty of space between it and the New Exchange on the north, between it and Salisbury House on the east, and between it and York House on the west. Houses appear to have been built on these vacant spaces. The chief house continued to be called Durham House, but the locality of the other houses was distinguished as Durham Yard. Sir Thomas Wilson, writing to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in December 1619, dates from "my house in Duresme Yard," and gives a list of ambassadors, etc., living there.*

Amongst the State Papers is preserved the examination of Anne, wife of William Taylor, of Southwark, who was sent for to Durham House, in December 1615, by a lady who offered to introduce her to the Countess of Essex, but she refused the offer. Who this lady was does not appear.† In December 1625 Bishop Richard Neile, who succeeded Bishop James, was dating his letters from Durham House, but in February of the following year the French Ambassador lived there. This we learn from "A true relation of that which passed betwixt the king's officers and the French Ambassador's followers by occasion of apprehending English subjects, Papists that resorted daily to mass to the Ambassador lying in Durham House."‡ This matter attracted much attention, and

* *Ibid.*, iv., p. 284.

† *Calendar of State Papers*, Domestic, p. 339.

‡ *Ibid.*, Feb. 26th, 1626.

the Council of State wrote to the Bishop of Durham respecting it. The Bishop gave a warrant to the Constable. Attached to these documents among the State Papers is a map of Durham House and the adjoining residences illustrative of them. The situations of Britain's Burse and the residences of Sir Thomas Wilson, Sir William Becher, and Sir Thomas Bond are indicated.

About this same date the inhabitants of the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields looked with envying eyes upon the great hall of Durham House, which was used only as a passage, and which they thought would make a very good church. The parishioners petitioned for this favour. They pointed out that since the beginning of James's reign the number of parishioners had trebled. Although the old church had been enlarged, it would not hold half of those who wished to come to it. The petitioners asked to be allowed to convert the hall into a church at their own expense, and they proposed to pay a minister as well. Whether the prayer was granted I cannot say.

Lord Keeper Coventry lived at Durham House for several years; thus I find his letters dated from there in 1628, 1629, and in 1637, 1638, and 1639, but in March 1630 Bishop John Howson, who succeeded Bishop Neile, was dating from the same place.

The inhabitants of Durham Yard do not appear to have been altogether satisfied with their neighbours at the New Exchange, and they had to complain of the numbers who were crowded in that place; and of the sheds that had been built up against the wall separating the two places from each other. This is seen from the following

Order in Council (Inner Star Chamber), 1638, May 4th:—

The Lords being made acquainted that over the New Exchange, called Britain's Burse, there are divers families inhabiting as inmates, and that adjoining the wall of the court of Durham House, there are sheds employed as eating rooms and for other uses, to the great annoyance of the inhabitants, and danger of infection. It was ordered that the Lord Privy Seal and Lord Newburgh, Chancellor of the Duchy, should call before them the inhabitants of the said places, and take order for their removal; and if they find any of the said persons obstinate should certify their names.—*Cal. of State Papers*, Domestic, 1637-38, p. 402.

There were other evils besides those of overcrowding to alarm and annoy the in-

habitants of this place. Although near the Thames, the water supply was abominably bad, so bad indeed that an inquiry was instituted, and the polluted source was discovered in Covent Garden. The account is so instructive that I venture to transfer to these pages the full account from the *Calendar of State Papers*, which is as follows:—

1635-6, Jan. 6th. Lawrence Whitaker and Thomas Baldwin to the Council.

According to their order of 28th October last, the writers have viewed those places in "the Covent Garden" where the head of the spring is that brings the water to Durham House, and they report how the water may be brought to that house for the present and secured for the future. The head of the spring was then under a new-made cellar in an ill-built house in the skirts of "the Covent Garden," where a floor was made over it. The writers recommend a variety of practical arrangements by which the spring and a watercourse connected therewith might be kept free from contamination from its source to Durham House; they also recommend that the works by them suggested should be effected and maintained by the Earl of Bedford, but that the Bishop of Durham should be at the expense of the necessary legal instruments for securing the benefit of the same to the bishop and his successors.—*Calendar of State Papers*, Domestic, 1635-36, p. 150.

In 1640 Lord Keeper Finch died at Durham House, and we hear no more of the bishops. In 1645 the property had come into the possession of the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, who had rented it previously from the see of Durham at £200 per annum.

From the certificate of the collector of St. Martin's parish, dated Feb. 16th, 1645-6, we learn that the Earl of Salisbury was assessed forty shillings monthly for Salisbury House, the same amount as the assessment upon the Earl of Northumberland for his house, late Earl of Suffolk's, and upon the Earl of Pembroke for Durham House.* Soon after this, parliamentary soldiers were quartered at Durham House, as well as at Somerset and Worcester Houses. On December 5th, 1649, the Council of State ordered the Lord-General to think of some place for quartering the soldiers now at Durham House, that the Earl of Pembroke might have the use of his own house. On January 24th, 1650, the Council of State, however,

* *Hist. MSS. Comm. Report*, vi., 98.

desired Sir William Constable to signify to the Lord-General that he should continue the soldiers now at Durham House, as there were many disaffected persons about the

Durham House being his property was thus made use of for quartering soldiers. Evidently the Earl began to get tired of being kept out of possession of his house, for on



FIG. 4.—IVY LANE.

town who might be encouraged by the removal of the troops. Two hundred pounds was voted to the Earl of Pembroke, so that he might provide himself with a house, as

September 19th, 1651, Colonel Berkstead was ordered "to find some fit place for the quartering of his soldiers besides Durham House, the Council not being desirous to

hold the house longer than the Earl of Pembroke has given his consent to."

Webb, the pupil and kinsman of Inigo Jones, designed a new mansion for Lord Pembroke, but this scheme was not carried into execution, and the elevation preserved in the collection of Jones's drawings, at Worcester College, Oxford, remains as the only record of what might have been. The old house was in due course pulled down, and a new street running from east to west, called Durham Yard, was built, which communicated with the Strand by the street now called Durham Street. I believe that the house was not completely cleared away until after the Restoration; but in a contemporary MS. in the collection of the late Sir Thomas Phillipps it is said that the demolition was commenced in 1650.

Pepys went, on January 31st, 1667-68, to the office of the Commissioners of Accounts, which was then situated in Durham Yard, and on May 10th, 1668, he went in a boat to Vauxhall, and returning, set down an old lady at Durham Yard. This might have been Ivy bridge stairs, or Durham stairs, which he more often calls New Exchange Stairs. Ivy Lane, which forms the eastern boundary of the Adelphi, still remains, as is shown on the opposite page (fig. 4), and the view down it from the gate in the Strand is one of the oddest in London.

Some waterworks were established in Durham Yard by Sir Robert Vyner and various others, and on January 18th, 1667, the proprietors of the New River Works objected to the action of their new rival. These works do not appear to have been connected with the York Buildings Company, which was formed in 1675, with waterworks adjoining Durham Yard. Dean Crofts of Norwich lived in Durham Yard in 1667, and Justice Wareup, John Knight, Serjeant-surgeon, and Ringet, Surgeon-general, were there about the same time, but there is little more of interest attached to the place.

I will now return to the New Exchange and the Strand front. Besides the milliners and sempstresses who filled up much of the place, many other trades were represented, and the different stalls were distinguished by various signs. Thomas Walkley at the Eagle and Child, published the first edition of *Othello*;

Will Cademan, actor and publisher, lived at the sign of the Fop's Head, and Henry Herringman, the famous bookseller, had his shop at the Blue Anchor in the Lower Walk. It is said that Dryden lodged with Herringman after the Restoration for a time. Nan Clarges (then the wife of Thomas Radford, but afterwards Duchess of Albemarle) sold washballs, powder, gloves, etc., at the sign of the Three Spanish Gypsies. Here is the title of a tract by Henry Nevile—" *Newes from the New Exchange or the Commonwealth of Ladies drawn to the life in their severall characters and concernments*" (here follows a list of ladies and their gallants): "Printed in the yeere of Women without grace, 1650." On the 22nd November, 1653, there was a murderous attack made in the New Exchange by a party of Portuguese. It appears that some members of the Portuguese Ambassador's family felt themselves affronted by the remarks of certain Englishmen at this place, and so on the following day they gathered a company of armed followers, and attacked all they met in the Exchange, killing one, and wounding many others. They made preparations to escape by water, but were taken prisoners.* It was at the New Exchange that the famous White Milliner hired one of the stalls after the Revolution, when it was whispered that this mysterious personage was no other than the unfortunate Duchess of Tyrconnell, then reduced to want.

The New Exchange was a large building, and was divided into the outward walk below stairs, the inner walk below stairs, the outward walk above stairs, and the inner walk above stairs. In course of time the stalls were deserted, and the lower walk, which had long been a place of assignation, became a nuisance, and the public voice called loudly for its abolition. The building was pulled down in 1737, and new houses were erected on the site.

There was another Exchange close by, which had been built on part of old Salisbury House. This was called the Middle Exchange, and is sometimes confused with the New Exchange. Peter Cunningham

* "A Relation of the Mutiny on Tuesday, the 22nd of November, 1653, in the New Exchange of the Portugal Ambassador's followers, etc." Reprinted in *Somers's Tracts*.

says it was first rated in the year 1672, but there is a reference in Fairholt's *Lord Mayor's Pageants* to the following sentence, written as early as 1638,—“her suburbs being decorated with two several houses or exchanges.”

When the New Exchange was pulled down, eleven houses were built upon its site, and the middle house was occupied by Mr. Middleton's bank (now Coutts's). John Campbell, who died in 1712, and lies buried with his wife in the churchyard of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, is supposed to have been

and the firm became Campbell and Coutts. In 1760, James Coutts, the sole partner, took his brother Thomas into partnership. He died in 1778, and the sole charge of the bank devolved upon Thomas Coutts, and from that time to this the style of this famous house has been Coutts & Co.

Although the houses built on the site of the New Exchange were not old when the Adelphi was planned out, the brothers Adam, who were known to Coutts, were employed to build a new house. This they did with a slightly architectural elevation, the symmetry of which

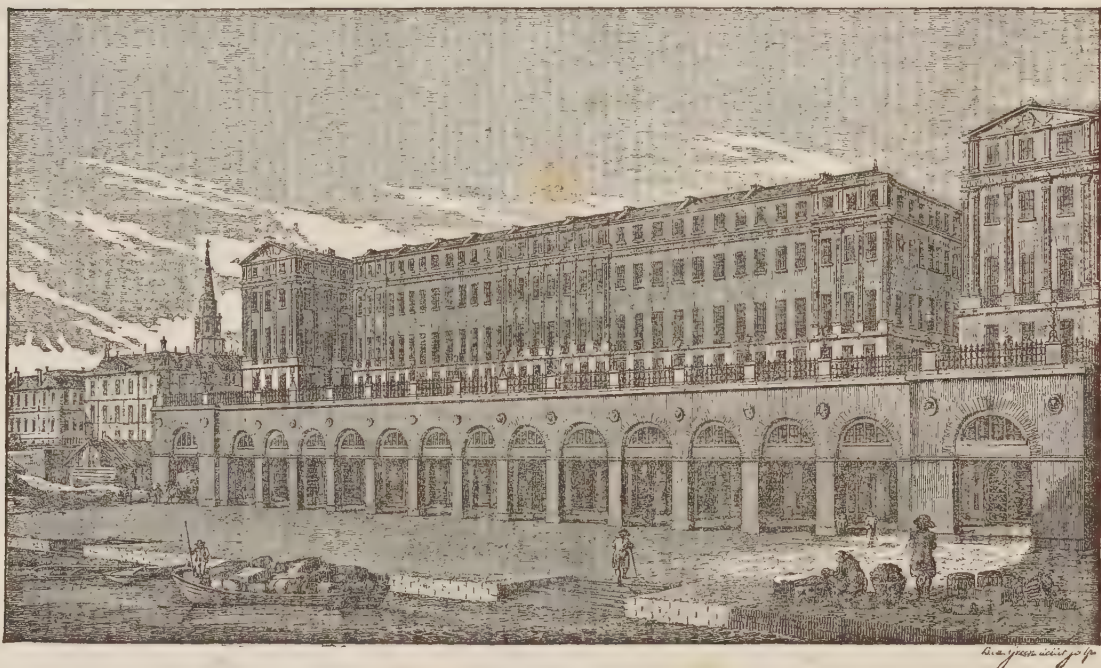


FIG. 5.—THE ADELPHI FROM THE RIVER, 1770.

the founder of the bank in St. Martin's Lane. It is not known when the business was removed to the Strand, or the exact locality to which it was so removed, but the house is described as The Three Crowns, next the Globe Tavern, and it is believed that John Campbell was there in 1692. Campbell was succeeded by Middleton, who was succeeded by George Campbell. The firm was then known for a time as Campbell and Bruce; from 1751 to 1755 George Campbell was sole partner. At the latter date James Coutts, who married a niece of George Campbell, was taken into partnership,

has been somewhat injured by alterations of late years. In the house built by the Adams, Thomas Coutts lived for many years, and his dining-room and drawing-room, with their handsome marble chimney-pieces and fine mahogany doors, are still unoccupied. When Lord Macartney was on his embassy to China, he sent over some Chinese wall paper to Coutts, which was hung on the walls of one of these rooms, and there it still is. I shall have something further to say of Coutts in the notice of the Adelphi itself.

Durham Street remains unaltered, except that instead of leading to the chief street of

the district, it leads down to the arches under the Adelphi. The Strand had now become an important thoroughfare, and the only valuable portion of the old Durham Yard was that portion which had been built on the stables and outhouses. The rest of the site was in a ruinous and disgraceful state. In 1766 John Gwynn,* who proposed some extensive changes in the arrangements of London streets, suggested that new streets leading to the Thames should be built on the site, or that it should be laid out as a square, where the market removed from Covent Garden could be held. At the very time, however, that this was written, four Scotchmen, patronised by the unpopular statesman Lord Bute, were contemplating the transformation of the site on a plan of the most brilliant originality.

THE ADELPHI.

Robert and John Adam only were architects, but James and William were associated with their brothers in the business part of the project. In 1768 the works were commenced. At this time the property of Durham Yard was in the possession of the Duke of St. Albans, and it may be presumed that he was not prepared to sell the place, as the Adams agreed to lease the ground for ninety-nine years, from Lady-day 1768, at a yearly ground rent of £1,200. It must be supposed that the brothers knew their own business, but it does seem strange that they should undertake enormous risks for so comparatively short a tenure. The agreement was not signed until the 23rd June, 1769, more than a year after building operations had commenced. The leases expired in 1867, and the whole property came into the possession of Messrs. Drummond, who obtained the estate from the trustees of the Duke of St. Albans. The conception of levelling a steep incline by building streets of houses on a vast area of solid arches, is one of considerable daring, and although the Adelphi has existed for more than a century the wonder of London, it has remained unimitated and unrivalled. But this was not the only merit of the scheme. The Terrace,

* In *London and Westminster Improved* (London, 1766), 4to.

standing high above the river, is still one of the handsomest objects we see, as we pass along the silent highway, but when it was first built it stood alone, for Somerset House with its river front was not completed until some years afterwards. Then again the architectural elevation of the houses in the different streets is worthy of great praise. It is very elegant, although somewhat flat and wanting in power. Horace Walpole, writing to Mason in 1773, speaks of the Adelphi Buildings as "warehouses laced down the seams, like a soldier's trull in a regimental old coat." We must remember that at the time when Robert Adam commenced to adorn London, the streets were built in the most deplorably ugly manner, without any, even the most distant, attempt at beauty. It was he who first conceived the idea of grouping together a number of dwelling-houses to form one whole with centre and wings. Beauty was not however confined to the outside, for the interior was designed with an elegance worthy of great praise. To Robert Adam we owe Portland Place, still a noble street, although the effect of his design has been somewhat marred by the irregularity introduced by the vagaries of modern builders.

Soon after the works in the Adelphi had been commenced, a difficulty arose as to the frontage to the river. This was very different from what it is at present. In order to make the Terrace follow a straight line along the Thames, it was necessary to encroach upon the river, and for this purpose the undertakers had to obtain an Act of Parliament (2 Geo. III., cap. 34, 1771):—

An Act for enabling certain persons to enclose and embank part of the river Thames, adjoining to Durham Yard, Salisbury Street, Cecil Street, and Beaufort Buildings, in the County of Middlesex.

The preamble sets forth, that between Westminster Bridge and Blackfriars Bridge the river is much wider than at either of those bridges, that this tended to weaken the rapidity of the stream, and that therefore it would be a benefit to make the river narrower. John Adam, Robert Adam, James Adam, and William Adam, and James Paine, architects; Dorothy Monk, widow, Clementina Pawson, widow, and William Kitchiner, coal merchant, were willing to make this improvement, and execute an embankment in front

of their respective properties at their own expense.

The Adams were supported by the Court, and before this Act was passed, and while it was only a Bill before Parliament, the City considered their rights as conservators of the river threatened, and they exerted the whole of their influence to crush it. They brought forward charters and grants in support of their case, and they were heard by counsel, but they failed. They imagined that their objection would be popular, but this was not so, for most people saw how great an improvement to London the new buildings would be. The satirists, however, took the opportunity to gird at the brothers. In a *jeu d'esprit*, written "on some encroachments on the river," we read:—

"Four Scotchmen by the name of Adams,
Who keep their coaches and their madams,"
Quoth John in sulky mood to Thomas,
"Have stole the very river from us."*

The east end of the terrace was built on piles, and the line of the bank was carried out some distance, making a considerable curtailment of the river. At the same time, Salisbury Street was lengthened by means of a somewhat pretentious crescent. I am informed that when the Adams planned the arches upon which their houses were to rest, they believed they had secured their occupation as warehouses for government stores, but they subsequently found that the authorities were not prepared to carry out the implied agreement. This disappointment greatly disarranged their plans, and the expenses they had gone to nearly ruined them. They then thought to extricate themselves from their difficulties by means of a lottery, and they had sufficient influence to obtain an Act of Parliament for the purpose.

The Act of Parliament obtained by the brothers for the purpose of disposing of their property by lottery was 13 Geo. III., cap. 75 (1773):—

An Act for enabling John, Robert, James, and William Adam, to dispose of several houses and buildings in the parishes of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, and St. Mary-le-Bow, in the County of Middlesex, and other their effects by way of chance in such manner as may be most for the benefit of themselves and creditors.†

* *Foundling Hospital for Wit*, ed. 1784, vol. iv., p. 189.

† *Statutes at Large*, vol. ii., p. 838.

In accordance with this Act the lottery was arranged. The scheme was as follows:—

There were 4,370 tickets at £50, making £218,500. The prizes numbered 108, arranged thus:—

I	£50,000
I	40,000
I	30,000
I	20,000
I	10,000
I	5,000
100 of different values from £10 to £800	33,500
The first drawn ticket was entitled to	5,000
The last drawn to	25,000
	<u>£218,500</u>

On Thursday, March 3rd, 1774, the drawing of the lottery began at the great room, formerly Jonathan's Coffee House in Exchange Alley, when No. 3,599 was drawn a blank, but being the first drawn ticket it was entitled to £5,000. Nine other prizes were drawn on that day, six prizes were drawn on Friday, and at this rate the drawing continued for some time. The newspapers of the period were full of information and advertisements respecting the lottery; and the art of advertising appears to have been very thoroughly mastered at that time. Tickets were sold in all parts of the town, as well as at the Messrs. Adam's Office in Robert Street, and intending purchasers were told that there was a great demand, and early application was necessary,—in fact, that the demand began to be prodigious. Then they were informed that Messrs. Adam proposed to keep their office in Adelphi open till 12 o'clock on Wednesday night next (9th March) for the sale of tickets at £50 each, after which the price of the small quantity remaining in the market must be considerably raised, on account of the consumption of tickets by the wheel. Portions of tickets were sold at the various lottery offices thus,—a half cost £25 5s.; a thirty-second, £1 13s.; and a sixty-fourth, 17s. Then there are little bits of gossip in the papers, intended to whet the appetites of the public. Thus we are told that No. 3,599, the first drawn ticket, entitled to an estate of the value of £5,000, was sold by Messrs. Richardson and Goodenough not half an hour before the lottery began drawing, and what is very remarkable, was the only ticket they had left unsold. Soon after—

wards the winner of this ticket sold it by auction.

It is to be noted that the prizes were not instantly realizable, for the houses were to be divided among the prize-holders, and the houses were not yet finished. Those who could not wait for their money sold their prizes by auction, and it may be presumed that in course of time the tickets got into a few hands. The following is the explanation by the Adams of their action :—

The Messrs. Adam having received a letter signed A. B. C., which the writer says is sent to be inserted in the public papers, requiring to know the state of the mortgages on the buildings which constitute the Adelphi lottery, and also what security the public have for their completing the unfinished buildings? In answer to these questions the Messrs. Adam, desirous to satisfy the adventurers in the lottery, and the public in all reasonable demands, think it necessary to inform them that the mortgagees have already been paid one half of their money, but as it is requisite that they should join in assigning the prizes to the fortunate adventurers, they defer paying the other half till such assignments are completed. The Messrs. Adam, ever since the obtaining of the Act for their lottery, have proceeded with an amazing rapidity in finishing their houses, in the same substantial manner with those formerly finished and sold in the Adelphi; they are happy to think the whole will be completed, and ready to be assigned, by the time they have ascertained in their scheme and allotment, as no attention and no expense shall be spared for that purpose.

When the buildings were finished they were eagerly sought for, and if we consider how superior they were in beauty and general agreeableness to the rest of London, we shall not be surprised at this.

David Garrick moved from Southampton Street to No. 4 on The Terrace in 1772, and there he remained until his death in 1779. His widow lived on in that house for many years, even till 1822. Garrick also obtained the corner house of the Strand on the east side of Adam Street, for his friend the bookseller Becket, and his interesting letter begging the favour has been preserved by Hone in the *Every Day Book*.

Topham Beauclerk was another resident on the Terrace. These names remind us of that scene when Johnson and Boswell were standing by the railings, looking on the river below them. Boswell remarked that he could not but think of the two friends they had lost, who once lived in the buildings

behind them. Johnson answered tenderly, "Ay, sir, and two such friends as cannot be supplied." Of other inhabitants may be mentioned Dr. Vicesimus Knox, a once famous essayist, at No. 1, Adam Street; Tommy Hill, the Hull of Theodore Hook's *Gilbert Gurney*, and the *Paul Pry* of Poole's play of that name, at No. 2, James Street; and the King of the Sandwich Islands (Kamehameha II.), at Osborne's Hotel, John Street, in 1824.

The notorious quack, James Graham, M.D., lived for a time on the Adelphi Terrace, before he became still more known at Schomberg House, Pall Mall. In the sixth edition of his *General State of Medical and Chirurgical Practice Exhibited*, 1779, he gives a full description of his house, in which occurs the following passage :—

The stately and highly ornamented pilasters which run up in the front, distinguishing this and the other two centre houses, give my house a temple-like appearance. Over the entrance, therefore, in a white compartment with gold letters is written, *Templum Æsculapio Sacrum!* a building consecrated or devoted to the great purposes of preserving and restoring *Health*.

Gibbon was at the Adelphi Hotel in 1787, when he brought to London from Lausanne the remainder of his history for publication, and in 1805 Benjamin Disraeli was born in the Adelphi, but in which house is not known.

Towards the end of the last century Dr. Monro, who had inherited from his father a valuable collection of drawings and had himself greatly added to the collection, opened his house on the Terrace to the young artists of the day. Girtin, Turner, Varley, and others availed themselves of the privilege. Another celebrated artist—Rowlandson—died in the Adelphi on the 22nd of April, 1827.

When the Adelphi was first planned by the Adams, a chapel was built at the corner of James and William Streets, which was some years ago taken by Messrs. Coutts, who still occupy it as a part of their bank. When this change of occupation took place, Mr. Bottomley, an old resident, and an authority on the history of the district, tells me that the congregation removed to the Hackney Road, and erected a chapel there which they called by the old name—Adelphi chapel, a

name it still bears. In William Street there is a covered bridge which connects together the Strand portion of Coutts's bank with that in the Adelphi. In order to build this,

Westminster, by a passage to be built over the said street.

Coutts did not wish the view from his drawing-room window spoilt, so he built a



FIG. 6.—THE FOX UNDER THE HILL.

Thomas Coutts obtained an Act of Parliament, 39 Geo. III., 1799 :—

An Act to enable Thomas Coutts, Esq., Banker, to make a communication between the buildings on the opposite side of William Street, in the parish of Saint Martin's-in-the-Fields, within the City and Liberty of

low house in John Street, and arranged with the Adams that the opening, now Robert Street, should be opposite to this, so as to form a frame for his landscape.

In 1754 the Society of Arts was founded, in 1771 an agreement was entered into with

Messrs. Adam for the erection by them of "a proper building in the Adelphi for the use of the Society, and the accommodation of its officers;" in 1772 the first stone of this house was laid by Lord Romney, and in 1774 the Society took possession of the finished building. Between 1754 and 1774 there were many changes in the place of meeting, but from the latter date the history of the Society has been entirely associated with the Adelphi. The structure and ornamentation of the rooms tell of the brothers Adam, and the style which they made fashionable, and which has been revived in our own days; but the chief glory of the place is the noble pictures on the walls, which were painted for the position they hold. The painting of these constituted the first attempt in England to decorate the walls of great rooms with pictures of grand proportions. In these pictures we see the great of all ages, and also the great men more especially connected with this Society. Dr. Johnson said of Barry's pictures: "There is a grasp of mind there which you will find nowhere else." This dictum of Johnson's may remind us, that the great Doctor made his only public speech in the Society's room. The great circle who live in Boswell's pages were well represented here,—Garrick was an influential member of the Society, and Goldsmith was once anxious to become its secretary.

I have as yet spoken only of the superstructure of the Adelphi, and merely casually alluded to the arches below, which form one of the most remarkable sights in London, but it is a sight that only a few are privileged to see. I have wandered through these arches with wonder, under the obliging guidance of the custodians. Below you there is a very town, much of it filled with bottles of old vintages. The arches were many of them open for years, and formed subterranean streets leading to the wharves on the Thames. They were constructed (as stated on an old engraving) so as to keep the access to the houses level with the Strand, and distinct from the traffic of the wharves and warehouses. They extend under the whole Adelphi, including Adam

Street, from York Buildings, and were also carried under the additional buildings at the end of Salisbury Street. In many places there are double tiers of arches.

Some twenty years ago the dark arches had a bad name on account of the desperate characters who congregated there and hid themselves away in the innermost recesses, but at last the place was cleared out, and the greater portion of it closed in. The extensive cellerage of Messrs. Tod Heatley gives evidence of the former state, for one of the alleys is still styled Jenny's hole—and the arch above was known as the Devil's Bridge. The disgraceful condition of the arches could not have existed for any length of time, as, some forty years ago, the place was well cared for by the wharfingers, and at nine o'clock at night a gun gave a signal for the gates to be closed.

The closed and deserted "Fox under the Hill" (fig. 6), which still stands on the land under the Terrace, was once a much-frequented tavern, and to the stairs close by came all the stores for the Hungerford market.

At spring and neap-tides the water rose as high as 3 feet 6 inches in the tap-room, and the tide also ran far up the arches—but the Thames Embankment has now changed all this.

When the leases of the Terrace-houses fell in, in 1867, a claim was set up by some of the leaseholders for a share of the foreshore, which had been reclaimed when the Adelphi was built, but on the case being brought into the Court of Queen's Bench, on June 24 and July 6, 1871, Messrs. Drummond and others, the plaintiffs and representatives of the original ground landlords of Durham House, proved the groundlessness of the claim, and gained their cause.

In concluding this paper I may point out that to the genius of the Adams we owe it that a site little different, in regard to distinguishing character, from the sites around, should have become a recognised district with a distinct name, The Adelphi—a name which will ever perpetuate the memory of the famous *Brothers*.



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